1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

occasions like a marriage or an ancestor-propitiation, then the house is purified after their departure.

The sacredness or ritual purity of the ancestral house was better preserved by the fact that a woman was not allowed to stay within it during her periods. Such a woman is in a defiled condition and defilement is contagious. It also cuts off the person affected by it from normal participation in social life.

Every ancestral house has an outhouse called *ālé poré* in which a woman stayed for three days during her periods. She attained normal ritual status only on the fourth day after taking a bath. During her periods she had to avoid going near people and objects in a condition of normal ritual status.

The death of even an unrelated adult in the house defiles it and the members of the particular household. After the corpse is removed, both the house and the members of the household have to be purified.

Certain parts of the ancestral house are more sacred than the others. The central hall is very sacred. In the western wall of the central hall is a niche in which burns an earthen or metal lamp. The container is filled with oil, and there is a cotton wick, one end of which comes through the lamp's lip while the rest trails in the oil held by the container. The wick is lit just beyond the lip, and the lamp burns with the lip facing east, the sacred direction. This lamp is called *nellakki boḷuk* (central-hall lamp). It is lit every morning and evening by a woman of the house who salutes it after lighting it. It will be referred to as wall-lamp throughout this book.

A bell-metal lamp, hung from the ceiling of the central hall, is a common sight in Coorg houses. It is called *tūg boḷuk* or hanging lamp, and it is saluted on all ritual occasions. Shri K. J. Chengappa considers the wall-lamp to be the more ancient and more sacred of the two lamps.

The south-western room (*kanni kōmbaré kōṇé*) and the kitchen (*umbaḷa mané*) are very sacred parts of the ancestral house. The south-western direction is a sacred direction, and the south-western pillar (*kanni kamba*) in the central court of a quadrangular house receives ritual respect. On certain occasions like an ancestor-propitiation, a lamp is lit in the south-western room. The kitchen is sacred as food is cooked there: food ought to be cooked in a pure place and care is taken to see that impure persons and objects do not get into the kitchen. Sometimes the periodical offerings of food

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widows and divorcées have a slightly higher status than widows, but this does not entitle them to be classed as *garatis*.

The Coorg widow's dress consists of a white cotton *sari*, a white cotton blouse, and a white cotton scarf. *None* of these clothes may have a coloured border. The corpse of a widow, too, is dressed in clothes without a coloured border. The corpse of a married woman, on the other hand, is dressed in a coloured *sari* with a coloured, or silver, or gold, border.

The distinction between a widow and married woman is absolutely fundamental in every part of south India. Married women have a great number of privileges, whereas widows have a great number of ritual disabilities. A married woman is auspicious, she is everywhere welcome, whereas a widow is inauspicious, and she is unwelcome everywhere. This deep cleavage expresses itself in the matter of dress also.

IX

After being dressed in ritual robes, the subject of *mangala* salutes the various lamps in the house before sitting down for *mūrta*. On either side of him is a dish-lamp placed on a tripod stool. The dish-lamp is indispensable on every ritual occasion.

Every day, early in the morning and again just before nightfall, the housewife sweeps the house and sprinkles it with a purifying solution of cow-dung. She then lights the wall-lamp and salutes it. While saluting it she prays to the ancestors of the *okka*, to Mother Kāvēri and Shiva. Every member of the *okka* salutes the wall-lamp after getting up in the morning, and again at night.

The ending of night as well as of day is marked by sweeping and purifying the house, and by lighting and saluting the wall-lamp. The period between the ending of the day and the beginning of night is regarded as a critical time, and children are not given food or allowed to sleep at that time. This is a common south Indian custom.

It is regarded as a bad omen if the lamp goes out while a Coorg is having his dinner. The sudden extinction of the lamp indicates the approach of disaster. The diner gets up from his meal, cleans the dish and washes his hands. He sits down to dinner again a few minutes later. This makes it a different meal altogether and not the one that was interrupted.

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A Coorg never says that a lamp has gone out. He says instead, 'the lamp is brighter' (*boḷicha dumb pōchi*). This kind of euphemism is employed on other occasions also: the Koḍagi word for a tiger is '*nari*' which means a jackal in every other Dravidian language.

Again, no Coorg says that 'a cobra has bitten So-and-so'. He says instead, 'a creeper has bitten So-and-so'. Finally, after nightfall no one mentions the barber. If they have to refer to him they say instead, 'the scraper of heads'. Amongst the Hindus in Mysore the barber is referred to after nightfall as 'one whose name may not be mentioned'. A barber is inauspicious, and contact with him is defiling. He is also associated with inauspicious occasions such as death, as mourners have to be shaved. Women specially dread the barber, as until recently among the highest castes widows were required to have their heads shaved entirely.

In every one of the cases we have mentioned circumlocution is employed to avoid reference to an unpleasant object or event. The bite of a snake is always unpleasant and frequently fatal; a barber suggests death and widowhood; and it is much better to think of a tiger as a jackal. The euphemistic reference to the extinction of a lamp has a similar purpose: a lamp is the symbol of the solidarity and strength of the *okka*, and its sudden extinction refers to the decay and extinction of the *okka*. It also refers to the withdrawal of the protective power of the ancestors and the deities who are invoked while saluting a lamp.

Among the Hindus of the eastern plains it is obligatory to light a lamp in the house as soon as it is dark. A house without a lamp suggests that everyone is dead in the house, or that they are too poor to light one.

The ritual attitude prevalent towards the domestic lamp is easily extended to fire generally, and to the sun. These again provide points of contact with Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism.

The kitchen stove is a convenient focus for the general ritual attitude existing towards fire. The kitchen stove, like the domestic lamp, stands for the unity, strength, and protective power of the *okka* and this fact finds ritual expression. When a member of the *okka* is dead and it is decided to cremate his body, the funeral pyre is fired with a torch lighted from embers from the kitchen stove. The torch is made with twigs collected from the domestic burial-ground.

The belief in the protective power of *teḷi nīr* is again the result of

585 gossip, which is now and then broken by the noisy band of musicians.
574 Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom are bathed, he is dressed in his new
292 kuppasam (coat) with a long red cotton or silk sash round his waist and
[301] his friends fasten into it the new pichathi, a present from his father,
[405] together with a watch, and put jewelled gold rings on his fingers and a carefully tied turban in the approved Coorg fashion. A bright coloured handkerchief thrown over his shoulder completes his dress. The bride who is fully decked is left to the care of her friends.

585 In the bridegroom's house the wedding party proceed to the kaymada,
[782] carrying a light which had been kindled at the sacred house lamp, and
● [354] ignite an earthen lamp there and invoke the blessings of the ancestors. On returning to the house the principal members of the family enter first into the inner hall, and the younger men follow and offer their customary salutations. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom seeks the permission of the master of the house, and the elders to seat himself on the low three-legged stool kept in readiness and placed upon a carpet between two lighted lamps. These lamps trimmed with many wicks stand in metal dishes filled with rice by the side of which is a spouted brass vessel with milk. On the bridegroom being seated, the master of the house takes a handful of rice and
585 strews it over his head and shoulders uttering the words, "Live well; and
431 prosper well by God's favour", gives him a sip of milk, and drops a piece of money or other present in his lap, and passes on. Four men closely related to him do likewise. Then five of the nearest female relations
[576] including the mistress of the house repeat the same formalities. Then the guests, male and female, do the same. Old people only touch the bridegroom's shoulder, those of equal age shake hands, while those below touch his feet as a mark of respect. As the presents accumulate, they are taken
[589] care of by a friend who sits near him and watches what and by whom they
[799] are given. Widowers and widows do not take part in the proceedings because they are unlucky.

585 The same ceremony is gone through in the bride's house at about the same time, but women have precedence over men. After this ceremony, the bridegroom rises and takes his meal with a group of twelve of the nearest relations (groomsmen) and the Aruva. The guests who are
[674] invited are sumptuously fed in the leafy shed put up for the occasion.
[533] Various kinds of liquor are served. During and after feasting, the music makes a discordant and deafening noise.

After feasting, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house, which is generally some miles away. On such occasions a Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence which he approaches barefooted. When he has advanced

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CHAPTER X

COORG (Contd.)

241 THE principal occupation of the Coorgs is agriculture. Wet land cultivation predominates, but cultivation in dry and high lands is also made for the maintenance of large united families with numerous dependents. Agriculture is of a rude type and is similar to that prevailing in other parts of India. It is a system of rural economy formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged. Wedded to primitive modes of cultivation, the Coorg views with disapprobation any attempts at innovation. The industry of the people of the Highlands is confined exclusively to rice. The narrow valleys between the high grounds are very productive. The agricultural implements are of a rude type. And yet the yield has furnished an unfailing supply from ancient times both for consumption and for export to Malabar. Wherever practicable, the valleys have been formed into flat terraces for cultivation. 243 782

[221] The agricultural year begins about the middle of April. With the onset of the first showers in April or May, the ploughing commences. On [354] an auspicious day before sunrise, the house lamp, *Tali-akki-baleke* (dish-rice-lamp) which plays a conspicuous role on all festive occasions, is lighted in the inner verandah, the members of the family assemble and invoke the blessings of their ancestors and Kaveri Amma. The young men make obeisance to their parents and elders and drive a pair of bullocks to the paddy fields, where they turn the heads of them to the east. The landlord now offers coconuts and plantains, rice and milk to the presiding deity of his Nad and lifting up his hands to the rising sun, he invokes his blessings. The oxen are yoked and three furrows are ploughed, when he takes a clod to the granary, and offers his prayers to Siva to grant him an increase of one hundred times. From 6 to 10 in the morning the ploughing is continued in the fields and turned two or three times. Then the borders are trimmed, the channels are cleaned, and the little banks repaired to regulate water.

243 [221] Regulated by the monsoon rain, the rice-transplanting takes place during July and August. The women covered with gorakas, which rest on the head and protect the whole body, pull out the plants from the nursery and tie them in small bundles which are collected in one spot. Meanwhile, the submerged fields are repeatedly ploughed and levelled, till the soil becomes as soft as treacle. All the members of the family standing in a line knee deep [47] in the muddy fields begin the transplanting. The bundles are conveniently deposited in the field, and each man takes a handful of plants at a time into his left hand, and presses into the mud with great rapidity seven or eight

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 492 [772] [825] plough and two labourers. On Monday he does not plough with bullocks, but buffaloes only, considering Monday as the day of the bullock's creation.

243 Whatever of cattle manure and dry leaves has been collected during the year is in the dry season carried by the women to the fields in large baskets and deposited in little heaps which are there burnt and the ashes are subsequently strewn over the ground. With the first showers in April and [354] May the ploughing commences. On a propitious day before sunrise the house-lamp—Táli-akki-balake (dish-rice-lamp)—which plays a conspicuous roll on all festive occasions, is lighted in the inner verandah, the housepeople assemble and invoke their ancestors and Kávéri Amma for a blessing; the young men make obeisance to their parents and elders and then drive a pair of bullocks into the paddy-fields, where they [782] turn the heads of the beasts towards the east. The landlord now offers cocoanuts and plantains, rice and milk to the presiding deity of his Nád, and lifting up his hands in adoration to the rising sun invokes a blessing. The oxen are yoked and three furrows ploughed, when the work is finished for that morning. Of the turned earth they take a clod home to the store-house or granary praying Shiva to grant them a hundred-fold increase. This recognition of the source of material wellbeing, is followed by personal industry that should command success.

From 6 to 10 in the morning the ploughing is continued till all the fields are turned over 2 or 3 times. Then the borders are trimmed, the channels cleaned and the little banks between the fields repaired, to regulate the water.

By the end of May one part of the fields which commands a permanent water supply and which has been well manured, is prepared for a nursery by repeated ploughing and harrowing, whilst the whole field is submerged. For every hundred butties of land from 2 to 2¼ butties of grain are required for

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

preparations ended, the body is carried into the middle apartment (nadumane) of the house and laid upon a funeral bed, near to which a lighted lamp is placed. Instead of oil, those who can afford it, burn on this occasion clarified cow's butter in half a cocoanut placed on a handful of rice in a copper-dish. The whole company gathers round him and breaks out into loud wailing, beating the breast, tearing the hair, much in the usual Hindu style. Guns are also fired in honor of the dead. Towards evening the corpse is brought into the yard, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives, and a piece of money deposited in a copper-dish, containing a little cocoamilk, saffron, rice and well-water. Now the body is carried to the burial or burning ground. Each funeral guest approaches, dips his finger into the copper dish, moistens the lips of the corpse with a drop or two, and lays a piece of money into the plate. This collection goes to defray the expenses of the funeral. After all present have thus taken their last leave of the departed, the body is deprived of the ornaments, and laid in the grave or upon the pile, the contents of the funeral-lamp-dish are thrown upon it, and now the covering of the grave, or the burning of the pile, concludes the ceremony. Before this last scene, however, some relatives must be set apart for funeral observances until the Dhiti, the great ceremonial day, which is sometimes celebrated on the 28th day after the death of a person, i. e. at the end of the lunar month in which the decease has occurred, sometimes later, as late as six months, when peculiar honor is intended to be done to the departed. In the interval the relatives, who offer themselves for this service, have to perform a lesser course of fasting. They forego the early and the second meal, at six and nine o'clock. At noon they bathe, prepare their own food, eat part of it themselves (it consists of rice and a little pickled vegetables), and give the rest to the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Dhiti,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

by Virájender Vodeyar in 1821. By their side is a smaller tomb over the remains of an honored Guru of the Rajahs, Rudrappa, which was built by Devan Ponappa in 1834. The Mausoleums are situated at the northern extremity of the Mercara Petta (Mahadévapet) and enclosed by a high embankment. They are square buildings much in the style of Mahomedan edifices, with a handsome dome in the centre and four minaret-like turrets at the corners surmounted by Basavas. On the top of the dome is a gilded ball with a weathercock above it, and all the window frames are of handsomely sculptured sienite blocks with solid brass bars. A flight of stone steps, flanked on the top by 2 well carved pillars with representations of Siva, leads to an open platform all round the building. The inside consists of a covered verandah round one centre room in which two slightly raised slabs in the shape of a cross covered over with white cloth and daily renewed flowers indicate the sepulchres. A lamp burns continually and a Lingaite Pújári is in daily attendance upon the deified Dodda-Virájender.

In *Mádapúr* or *Jambúr* 10 miles north-east of Mercara, there is the ancient cemetery of the Coorg Rajahs' family. It is prettily situated on the banks of the Mádapúr river, but has no claim to architectural merit. The building is surrounded by narrow out-houses which crowd too closely upon it. It is about 40 feet square and nearly the same height and stands on an elevated base. It consists of two stories, the bottom one inclosing the sepulchres in a central apartment; the one above is of the same size as the central apartment, leaving room for a passage and a low balustrade all round. The lower story is ornamented with a large figure of a Basava sculptured in sienite and similar images adorn the capital of four small pillars placed at the angles on the top of the building.

Near the Kávéri, at *Holesálhalli* there is the *tomb of*